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John Carter Brown.

A NARRATIVE

OF THE LATE

MASSACRES,

IN

LANCASTER COUNTY,

OF A

Number of *INDIANS*,

FRIENDS of this PROVINCE,

By PERSONS Unknown.

With ſome *Obſervations* on the ſame.

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JOHN CARTER BROWN

A

NARRATIVE, &c.

THESE *Indians* were the Remains of a Tribe of the *Six Nations*, ſettled at *Coneſtogoe*, and thence called *Coneſtogoe Indians*. On the firſt Arrival of the *Engliſh* in *Pennſylvania*, Meſſengers from this Tribe came to welcome them, with Preſents of Veniſon, Corn and Skins; and the whole Tribe entered into a Treaty of Friendſhip with the firſt Proprietor, WILLIAM PENN, which was to laſt "as long as the Sun ſhould ſhine, or the Waters "run in the Rivers."

This Treaty has been ſince frequently renewed, and the *Chain brightened*, as they expreſs it, from time to time. It has never been violated, on their Part or ours, till now. As their Lands by Degrees were moſtly purchaſed, and the Settlements of the White People began to ſurround them, the Proprietor aſſigned them Lands on the Manor of *Coneſtogoe*, which they might not part with; there they have lived many Years in Friendſhip with their White Neighbours, who loved them for their peaceable inoffenſive Behaviour.

It has always been obſerved that *Indians*, ſettled in the Neighbourhood of White People, do not increaſe, but diminiſh continually. This

Tribe accordingly went on diminiſhing, till there remained in their Town on the Manor, but 20 Perſons, *viz.* 7 Men, 5 Women, and 8 Children, Boys and Girls.

Of theſe, *Shehaes* was a very old Man, having aſſiſted at the ſecond Treaty held with them, by Mr. PENN, in 1701, and ever ſince continued a faithful and affectionate Friend to the *Engliſh*; he is ſaid to have been an exceeding good Man, conſidering his Education, being naturally of a moſt kind benevolent Temper.

Peggy was *Shehaes*'s Daughter; ſhe worked for her aged Father, continuing to live with him, though married, and attended him with filial Duty and Tenderneſs.

John was another good old Man; his Son *Harry* helped to ſupport him.

George and *Will Soc* were two Brothers, both young Men.

John Smith, a valuable young Man, of the *Cayuga* Nation, who became acquainted with *Peggy*, *Shehaes*'s Daughter, ſome few Years ſince, married her, and ſettled in that Family. They had one Child, about three Years old.

Betty, a harmleſs old Woman; and her Son *Peter*, a likely young Lad.

Sally, whoſe *Indian* Name was *Wyanjoy*, a Woman much eſteemed by all that knew her, for her prudent and good Behaviour in ſome very trying Situations of Life. She was a truly good and an amiable Woman, had no Children of her own, but a diſtant Relation dying, ſhe had taken a Child of that Relation's, to bring up

as

as her own, and performed towards it all the Duties of an affectionate Parent.

The Reader will obſerve, that many of their Names are *Engliſh*. It is common with the *Indians* that have an Affection for the *Engliſh*, to give themſelves, and their Children, the Names of ſuch *Engliſh* Perſons as they particularly eſteem.

This little Society continued the Cuſtom they had begun, when more numerous, of addreſſing every new Governor, and every Deſcendant of the firſt Proprietor, welcoming him to the Province, aſſuring him of their Fidelity, and praying a Continuance of that Favour and Protection they had hitherto experienced. They had accordingly ſent up an Addreſs of this Kind to our preſent Governor, on his Arrival; but the ſame was ſcarce delivered, when the unfortunate Cataſtrophe happened, which we are about to relate.

On *Wedneſday*, the 14th of *December*, 1763, Fifty-ſeven Men, from ſome of our Frontier Townſhips, who had projected the Deſtruction of this little Common-wealth, came, all well-mounted, and armed with Firelocks, Hangers and Hatchets, having travelled through the Country in the Night, to *Coneſtogoe* Manor. There they ſurrounded the ſmall Village of *Indian* Huts, and juſt at Break of Day broke into them all at once. Only three Men, two Women, and a young Boy, were found at home, the reſt being out among the neighbouring White People, ſome to ſell the Baſkets, Brooms and Bowls they manufactured, and others on other Occaſions. Theſe

poor defenceleſs Creatures were immediately fired upon, ſtabbed and hatcheted to Death! The good *Shebaes*, among the reſt, cut to Pieces in his Bed. All of them were ſcalped, and otherwiſe horribly mangled. Then their Huts were ſet on Fire, and moſt of them burnt down. When the Troop, pleaſed with their own Conduct and Bravery, but enraged that any of the poor *Indians* had eſcaped the Maſſacre, rode off, and in ſmall Parties, by different Roads, went home.

The univerſal Concern of the neighbouring White People on hearing of this Event, and the Lamentations of the younger *Indians*, when they returned and ſaw the Deſolation, and the butchered half-burnt Bodies of their murdered Parents, and other Relations, cannot well be expreſſed.

The Magiſtrates of *Lancaſter* ſent out to collect the remaining *Indians*, brought them into the Town for their better Security againſt any farther Attempt; and it is ſaid condoled with them on the Misfortune that had happened, took them by the Hand, comforted and *promiſed them Protection.*—They were all put into the Workhouſe, a ſtrong Building, as the Place of greateſt Safety.

When the ſhocking News arrived in Town, a Proclamation was iſſued by the Governor, in the following Terms, *viz.*

" WHEREAS I have received Informa-
" tion, That on *Wedneſday*, the Four-
" teenth Day of this Month, a Number of Peo-
" ple, armed, and mounted on Horſeback, un-

" lawfully

" lawfully aſſembled together, and went to the " *Indian* Town in the *Coneſtogoe* Manor, in *Lan-* " *caſter* County, and without the leaſt Reaſon or " Provocation, in cool Blood, barbarouſly killed " ſix of the *Indians* ſettled there, and burnt and " deſtroyed all their Houſes and Effects: And " whereas ſo cruel and inhuman an Act, com- " mitted in the Heart of this Province on the " ſaid *Indians*, who have lived peaceably and in- " offenſively among us, during all our late " Troubles, and for many Years before, and " were juſtly conſidered as under the Protection " of this Government and its Laws, calls loudly " for the vigorous Exertion of the Civil Autho- " rity, to detect the Offenders, and bring them " to condign Puniſhment; I have therefore, by " and with the Advice and Conſent of the Coun- " cil, thought fit to iſſue this Proclamation, and " do hereby ſtrictly charge and enjoin all Judges, " Juſtices, Sheriffs, Conſtables, Officers Civil and " Military, and all other His Majeſty's liege Sub- " jects within this Province, to make diligent " Search and Enquiry after the Authors and Per- " petrators of the ſaid Crime, their Abettors and " Accomplices, and to uſe all poſſible Means to " apprehend and ſecure them in ſome of the " public Goals of this Province, that they may " be brought to their Trials, and be proceeded " againſt according to Law.

" And whereas a Number of other *Indians*, " who lately lived on or near the Frontiers of this " Province, being willing and deſirous to pre- " ſerve and continue the antient Friendſhip

" which heretofore ſubſiſted between them and " the good People of this Province, have, at " their own earneſt Requeſt, been removed from " their Habitations, and brought into the Coun- " ty of *Philadelphia*, and ſeated, for the preſent, " for their better Security, on the *Province-* " *Iſland*, and in other Places in the Neighbour- " hood of the City of *Philadelphia*, where Pro- " viſion is made for them at the public Expence; " I do therefore hereby ſtrictly forbid all Perſons " whatſoever, to moleſt or injure any of the ſaid " *Indians*, as they will anſwer the contrary at " their Peril.

GIVEN under my Hand, and the Great Seal of the ſaid Province, at Philadelphia, *the Twenty-ſecond Day of* December, Anno Domini *One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Sixty-three, and in the Fourth Year of His Majeſty's Reign.*

JOHN PENN."

By His Honour's Command,
JOSEPH SHIPPEN, *jun. Secretary.*

GOD Save the KING.

Notwithſtanding this Proclamation, thoſe cruel Men again aſſembled themſelves, and hearing that the remaining fourteen *Indians* were in the Work-houſe at *Lancaſter*, they ſuddenly appeared in that Town, on the 27th of *December*. Fifty of them, armed as before, diſmounting, went directly to the Work-houſe, and by Violence broke open the Door, and entered with the utmoſt Fury in their Countenances.——When the poor

Wretches

Wretches ſaw they had *no Protection* nigh, nor could poſſibly eſcape, and being without the leaſt Weapon for Defence, they divided into their little Families, the Children clinging to the Parents; they fell on their Knees, proteſted their Innocence, declared their Love to the *Engliſh*, and that, in their whole Lives, they had never done them Injury; and in this Poſture they all received the Hatchet!-----Men, Women and little Children----were every one inhumanly murdered!---in cold Blood!

The barbarous Men who committed the atrocious Fact, in Defiance of Government, of all Laws human and divine, and to the eternal Diſgrace of their Country and Colour, then mounted their Horſes, huzza'd in Triumph, as if they had gained a Victory, and rode off---*unmoleſted!*

The Bodies of the Murdered were then brought out and expoſed in the Street, till a Hole could be made in the Earth, to receive and cover them.

But the Wickedneſs cannot be covered, the Guilt will lie on the whole Land, till Juſtice is done on the Murderers. THE BLOOD OF THE INNOCENT WILL CRY TO HEAVEN FOR VENGEANCE.

It is ſaid that *Shehaes*, being before told, that it was to be feared ſome *Engliſh* might come from the Frontier into the Country, and murder him and his People; he replied, "It is "impoſſible: There are *Indians*, indeed, in the "Woods, who would kill me and mine, if they "could get at us, for my Friendſhip to the *Eng-*

"*liſh*;

" *liſh*; but the *Engliſh* will wrap me in their " Matchcoat, and ſecure me from all Danger." How unfortunately was he miſtaken!

Another Proclamation has been iſſued, offering a great Reward for apprehending the Murderers, in the following Terms, *viz.*

" WHEREAS on the Twenty-ſecond " Day of *December* laſt, I iſſued a Pro- " clamation for the apprehending and bringing " to Juſtice, a Number of Perſons, who, in " Violation of the Public Faith, and in Defiance " of all Law, had inhumanly killed ſix of the " *Indians*, who had lived in *Coneſtogoe* Manor, for " the Courſe of many Years, peaceably and in- " offenſively, under the Ptotection of this Go- " vernment, on Lands aſſigned to them for their " Habitation; notwithſtanding which, I have " received Information, that on the Twenty- " ſeventh of the ſame Month, a large Party of " armed Men again aſſembled and met together " in a riotous and tumultuous Manner, in the " County of *Lancaſter*, and proceeded to the " Town of *Lancaſter*, where they violently " broke open the Work-houſe, and butchered " and put to Death fourteen of the ſaid *Coneſto-* " *goe Indians*, Men, Women and Children, who " had been taken under the immediate Care and " Protection of the Magiſtrates of the ſaid Coun- " ty, and lodged for their better Security in the " ſaid Work-houſe, till they ſhould be more " effectually provided for by Order of the Go- " vernment. And whereas common Juſtice

" loudly

" loudly demands, and the Laws of the Land
" (upon the Preſervation of which not only the
" Liberty and Security of every Individual, but
" the Being of the Government itſelf depend)
" require that the above Offenders ſhould be
" brought condign Puniſhment; I have there-
" fore, by and with the Advice of the Council,
" publiſhed this Proclamation, and do hereby
" ſtrictly charge and command all Judges, Ju-
" ſtices, Sheriffs, Conſtables, Officers Civil and
" Military, and all other His Majeſty's faithful
" and liege Subjects within this Province, to
" make diligent Search and Enquiry after the
" Authors and Perpetrators of the ſaid laſt men-
" tioned Offence, their Abettors and Accompli-
" ces, and that they uſe all poſſible Means to ap-
" prehend and ſecure them in ſome of the pub-
" lic Goals of this Province, to be dealt with ac-
" cording to Law.

" And I do hereby further promiſe and en-
" gage, that any Perſon or Perſons, who ſhall
" apprehend and ſecure, or cauſe to be appre-
" hended and ſecured, any Three of the Ring-
" leaders of the ſaid Party, and proſecute them
" to Conviction, ſhall have and receive for each,
" the public Reward of *Two Hundred Pounds*;
" and any Acomplice, not concerned in the im-
" mediate ſhedding the Blood of the ſaid *Indians*,
" who ſhall make Diſcovery of any or either of
" the ſaid Ringleaders, and apprehend and pro-
" ſecute them to Conviction, ſhall, over and
" above the ſaid Reward, have all the Weight

" and

" and Influence of the Government, for obtain-
" ing His Majeſty's Pardon for his Offence.

GIVEN under my Hand, and the Great Seal of the ſaid Province, at Philadelphia, *the Second Day of* January, *in the Fourth Year of His Majeſty's Reign, and in the Year of our Lord One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Sixty-four.*

JOHN PENN."

By His Honour's Command,
JOSEPH SHIPPEN, *jun. Secretary.*

GOD Save the KING.

Theſe Proclamations have as yet produced no Diſcovery; the Murderers having given out ſuch Threatenings againſt thoſe that diſapprove their Proceedings, that the whole County ſeems to be in Terror, and no one durſt ſpeak what he knows; even the Letters from thence are unſigned, in which any Diſlike is expreſſed of the Rioters.

There are ſome (I am aſhamed to hear it) who would extenuate the enormous Wickedneſs of theſe Actions, by ſaying, " The Inhabitants of " the Frontiers are exaſperated with the Murder " of their Relations, by the Enemy *Indians*, in " the preſent War." It is poſſible;—but though this might juſtify their going out into the Woods, to ſeek for thoſe Enemies, and avenge upon them thoſe Murders; it can never juſtify their turning in to the Heart of the Country, to murder their Friends.

If

If an *Indian* injures me, does it follow that I may revenge that Injury on all *Indians*? It is well known that *Indians* are of different Tribes, Nations and Languages, as well as the White People. In *Europe*, if the *French*, who are White People, ſhould injure the *Dutch*, are they to revenge it on the *Engliſh*, becauſe they too are White People? The only Crime of theſe poor Wretches ſeems to have been, that they had a reddiſh brown Skin, and black Hair; and ſome People of that Sort, it ſeems, had murdered ſome of our Relations. If it be right to kill Men for ſuch a Reaſon, then, ſhould any Man, with a freckled Face and red Hair, kill a Wife or Child of mine, it would be right for me to revenge it, by killing all the freckled red-haired Men, Women and Children, I could afterwards any where meet with.

But it ſeems theſe People think they have a better Juſtification; nothing leſs than the *Word of God*. With the Scriptures in their Hands and Mouths, they can ſet at nought that expreſs Command, *Thou ſhalt do no Murder*; and juſtify their Wickedneſs, by the Command given *Joſhua* to deſtroy the Heathen. Horrid Perverſion of Scripture and of Religion! to father the worſt of Crimes on the God of Peace and Love!——— Even the *Jews*, to whom that particular Commiſſion was directed, ſpared the *Gibeonites*, on Account of their Faith once given. The Faith of this Government has been frequently given to thoſe *Indians*;—but that did not avail them with People who deſpiſe Government.

We

We pretend to be *Chriſtians*, and, from the ſuperior Light we enjoy, ought to exceed *Heathens*, *Turks*, *Saracens*, *Moors*, *Negroes* and *Indians*, in the Knowledge and Practice of what is right. I will endeavour to ſhow, by a few Examples from Books and Hiſtory, the Senſe thoſe People have had of ſuch Actions.

HOMER wrote his Poem, called the *Odyſſey*, ſome Hundred Years before the Birth of Chriſt. He frequently ſpeaks of what he calls not only *the Duties*, but *the ſacred Rites of Hoſpitality*, (exerciſed towards Strangers, while in our Houſe or Territory) as including, beſides all the common Circumſtances of Entertainment, full Safety and Protection of Perſon, from all Danger of Life, from all Injuries, and even Inſults. The Rites of Hoſpitality were called *ſacred*, becauſe the Stranger, the Poor and the Weak, when they applied for Protection and Relief, were, from the Religion of thoſe Times, ſuppoſed to be ſent by the Deity to try the Goodneſs of Men, and that he would avenge the Injuries they might receive, where they ought to have been protected.—— Theſe Sentiments therefore influenced the Manners of all Ranks of People, even the meaneſt; for we find that when *Ulyſſes* came, as a poor Stranger, to the Hut of *Eumæus*, the Swineherd, and his great Dogs ran out to tear the ragged Man, *Eumæus* drave them away with Stones; and

Unhappy Stranger! (thus the faithful Swain
Began, with Accent gracious and humane)
What Sorrow had been mine, if at my *Gate*
Thy rev'rend Age had met a ſhameful Fate?

——But

——But enter this my homely Roof, and ſee
Our Woods not void of Hoſpitality.
He ſaid, and ſeconding the kind Requeſt,
With friendly Step precedes the unknown Gueſt.
A ſhaggy Goat's ſoft Hide beneath him ſpread,
And with freſh Ruſhes heap'd an ample Bed.
Joy touch'd the Hero's tender Soul, to find
So juſt *Reception from a Heart ſo kind:*
And oh, ye Gods! with all your Bleſſings grace
(He thus broke forth) this Friend of human Race!
The Swain reply'd. It never was our guiſe
To ſlight the Poor, or aught humane deſpiſe.
For Jove *unfolds the hoſpitable Door,*
Tis Jove *that ſends the Stranger and the Poor.*

Theſe Heathen People thought, that after a Breach of the Rites of Hoſpitality, a Curſe from Heaven would attend them in every thing they did, and even their honeſt Induſtry in their Callings would fail of Succeſs.——Thus when *Ulyſſes* tells *Eumæus*, who doubted the Truth of what he related, *If I deceive you in this, I ſhould deſerve Death, and I conſent that you ſhall put me to Death*; *Eumæus* rejects the Propoſal, as what would be attended with both Infamy and Misfortune, ſaying ironically,

Doubtleſs, oh Gueſt! great Laud and Praiſe were mine,
If, after ſocial Rites and Gifts beſtow'd,
I ſtain'd my Hoſpitable Hearth with Blood.
How would the Gods my righteous Toils ſucceed,
And bleſs the Hand that made a Stranger bleed?
No more.--------

Even an open Enemy, in the Heat of Battle, throwing down his Arms, ſubmitting to his Foe,

and

and aſking Life and Protection, was ſuppoſed to acquire an immediate Right to that Protection. Thus one deſcribes his being ſaved, when his Party was defeated.

We turn'd to Flight; the gath'ring Vengeance ſpread
On all Parts round, and Heaps on Heaps lie dead.
---The radiant Helmet from my Brows unlac'd,
And lo on Earth my Shield and Jav'lin caſt,
I meet the Monarch with a Suppliant's Face,
Approach his Chariot, and his Knees embrace.
He heard, he ſav'd, he plac'd me at his Side;
My State he pity'd, and my Tears he dry'd;
Reſtrain'd the Rage the vengeful Foe expreſs'd,
And turn'd the deadly Weapons from my Breaſt.
Pious to guard the Hoſpitable Rite,
And fearing Jove, *whom Mercy's Works delight.*

The Suitors of *Penelope* are by the ſame ancient Poet deſcribed as a Sett of lawleſs Men, who were *regardleſs of the ſacred Rites of Hoſpitality.* And therefore when the Queen was informed they were ſlain, and that by *Ulyſſes*, ſhe, not believing that *Ulyſſes* was returned, ſays,

Ah no!---ſome God the Suitors Deaths decreed,
Some God deſcends, and by his Hand they bleed:
Blind, to contemn the Stranger's righteous Cauſe,
And violate all hoſpitable Laws!
----------The Powers they defy'd;
But Heav'n is juſt, and by a God they dy'd.

Thus much for the Sentiments of the ancient *Heathens.*——As for the *Turks*, it is recorded in the Life of *Mahomet*, the Founder of their Religion, That *Khaled*, one of his Captains, having divided

divided a Number of Priſoners between himſelf and thoſe that were with him, he commanded the Hands of his own Priſoners to be tied behind them, and then, in a moſt cruel and brutal Manner, put them to the Sword; but he could not prevail on his Men to maſſacre *their* Captives, becauſe in Fight they had laid down their Arms, ſubmitted, and demanded Protection. *Mahomet*, when the Account was brought to him, applauded the Men for their Humanity; but ſaid to *Khaled*, with great Indignation, *Oh* Khaled, *thou Butcher, ceaſe to moleſt me with thy Wickedneſs.—If thou poſſeſſedſt a Heap of Gold as large as Mount* Obod, *and ſhouldſt expend it all in God's Cauſe, thy Merit would not efface the Guilt incurred by the Murder of the meaneſt of thoſe poor Captives.*

Among the *Arabs* or *Saracens*, though it was lawful to put to Death a Priſoner taken in Battle, if he had made himſelf obnoxious by his former Wickedneſs, yet this could not be done after he had once eaten Bread, or drank Water, while in their Hands. Hence we read in the Hiſtory of the Wars of the *Holy Land*, that when the *Franks* had ſuffered a great Defeat from *Saladin*, and among the Priſoners were the King of *Jeruſalem*, and *Arnold*, a famous Chriſtian Captain, who had been very cruel to the *Saracens*; theſe two being brought before the Soltan, he placed the King on his right Hand, and *Arnold* on his left; and then preſented the King with a Cup of Water, who immediately drank to *Arnold*; but when *Arnold* was about to receive the Cup, the Soltan interrupted, ſaying, *I will not ſuffer this wicked*

Man to drink, as that, according to the laudable and generous Cuſtom of the Arabs, *would ſecure him his Life.*

That the ſame laudable and generous Cuſtom ſtill prevails among the *Mahometans*, appears from the Account but laſt Year publiſhed of his Travels by Mr. *Bell* of *Antermony*, who accompanied the Czar *Peter* the Great, in his Journey to *Derbent* through *Daggeſtan*. " The Religion of " the *Daggeſtans*, ſays he, is generally *Mahome-* " *tan*, ſome following the Sect of *Oſman*, others " that of *Haly*. Their Language for the moſt " Part is *Turkiſh*, or rather a Dialect of the *Ara-* " *bic*, though many of them ſpeak alſo the *Per-* " *ſian* Language. One Article I cannot omit " concerning their Laws of Hoſpitality, which " is, if their greateſt Enemy comes under their " Roof for Protection, the Landlord, of what " Condition ſoever, is obliged to keep him ſafe, " from all Manner of Harm or Violence, during " his Abode with him, and even to conduct him " ſafely through his Territories to a Place of Se- " curity."——

From the *Saracens* this ſame Cuſtom obtained among the *Moors* of *Africa*; was by them brought into *Spain*, and there long ſacredly obſerved. The *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians record with Applauſe one famous Inſtance of it. While the *Moors* governed there, and the *Spaniards* were mixed with them, a *Spaniſh* Cavalier, in a ſudden Quarrel, ſlew a young *Mooriſh* Gentleman, and fled. His Purſuers ſoon loſt Sight of him, for he had, unperceived, thrown himſelf over a

Garden

Garden Wall. The Owner, a *Moor*, happening to be in his Garden, was addreſſed by the *Spaniard* on his Knees, who acquainted him with his Caſe, and implored Concealment. *Eat this*, ſaid the *Moor*, giving him Half a Peach; *you now know that you may confide in my Protection.* He then locked him up in his Garden Apartment, telling him, that as ſoon as it was Night he would provide for his Eſcape to a Place of more Safety.——The *Moor* then went into his Houſe, where he had ſcarce ſeated himſelf, when a great Croud, with loud Lamentations, came to his Gate, bringing the Corps of his Son, that had juſt been killed by a *Spaniard*. When the firſt Shock of Surprize was a little over, he learnt, from the Deſcription given, that the fatal Deed was done by the Perſon then in his Power. He mentioned this to no One; but as ſoon as it was dark, retired to his Garden Apartment, as if to grieve alone, giving Orders that none ſhould follow him. There accoſting the *Spaniard*, he ſaid, *Chriſtian, the Perſon you have killed, is my Son: His Body is now in my Houſe. You ought to ſuffer; but you have eaten with me, and I have given you my Faith, which muſt not be broken. Follow me.*—He then led the aſtoniſhed *Spaniard* to his Stables, mounted him on one of his fleeteſt Horſes, and ſaid, *Fly far while the Night can cover you. You will be ſafe in the Morning. You are indeed guilty of my Son's Blood, but God is juſt and good, and I thank him that I am innocent of yours, and that my Faith given is preſerved.*

The *Spaniards* caught from the *Moors* this *Punto* of Honour, the Effects of which remain, in a great Degree, to this Day. So that when there is Fear of a War about to break out between *England* and *Spain*, an *Engliſh* Merchant there, who apprehends the Confiſcation of his Goods as the Goods of an Enemy, thinks them ſafe, if he can get a *Spaniard* to take Charge of them; for the *Spaniard* ſecures them as his own, and faithfully redelivers them, or pays the Value, whenever the *Engliſhman* can ſafely demand it.

Juſtice to that Nation, though lately our Enemies, and hardly yet our cordial Friends, obliges me, on this Occaſion, not to omit mentioning an Inſtance of *Spaniſh* Honour, which cannot but be ſtill freſh in the Memory of many yet living. In 1746, when we were in hot War with *Spain*, the *Elizabeth*, of *London*, Captain *William Edwards*, coming through the Gulph from *Jamaica*, richly laden, met with a moſt violent Storm, in which the Ship ſprung a Leak, that obliged them, for the Saving of their Lives, to run her into the *Havannah*. The Captain went on Shore, directly waited on the Governor, told the Occaſion of his putting in, and that he ſurrendered his Ship as a Prize, and himſelf and his Men as Priſoners of War, only requeſting good Quarter. *No, Sir*, replied the *Spaniſh* Governor, *If we had taken you in fair War at Sea, or approaching our Coaſt with hoſtile Intentions, your Ship would then have been a Prize, and your People Priſoners. But when diſtreſſed by a Tempeſt, you come into our Ports for the Safety of your Lives, we, though Enemies, being*

Men,

Men, are bound as ſuch, by the Laws of Humanity, to afford Relief to diſtreſſed Men, who aſk it of us. We cannot, even againſt our Enemies, take Advantage of an Act of God. You have Leave therefore to unload your Ship, if that be neceſſary, to ſtop the Leak; you may refit here, and traffick ſo far as ſhall be neceſſary to pay the Charges; you may then depart, and I will give you a Paſs, to be in Force till you are beyond Bermuda. *If after that you are taken, you will then be a Prize, but now you are only a Stranger, and have a Stranger's Right to Safety and Protection.*——The Ship accordingly departed, and arrived ſafe in *London*.

Will it be permitted me to adduce, on this Occaſion, an Inſtance of the like Honour in a poor unenlightened *African Negroe*. I find it in Capt. *Seagrave*'s Account of his Voyage to *Guinea*. He relates that a *New-England* Sloop, trading there in 1752, left their ſecond Mate, *William Murray*, ſick on Shore, and ſailed without him. *Murray* was at the Houſe of a Black, name *Cudjoe*, with whom he had contracted an Acquaintance during their Trade. He recovered, and the Sloop being gone, he continued with his black Friend, till ſome other Opportunity ſhould offer of his getting home. In the mean while, a *Dutch* Ship came into the Road, and ſome of the Blacks going on board her, were treacherouſly ſeized, and carried off as Slaves. Their Relations and Friends, tranſported with ſudden Rage, ran to the Houſe of *Cudjoe* to take Revenge, by killing *Murray*. *Cudjoe* ſtopt them at the Door, and demanded what they wanted? The White Men,

ſaid they, have carried away our Brothers and Sons, and we will kill all White Men ;—give us the White Man that you keep in your Houſe, for we will kill him. *Nay*, ſaid *Cudjoe*; *the White Men that carried away your Brothers are bad Men, kill them when you can catch them*; *but this White Man is a good Man, and you muſt not kill him.*——But he is a White Man, they cried; the White Men are all bad; we will kill them all.——*Nay*, ſays he, *you muſt not kill a Man, that has done no Harm, only for being white. This Man is my Friend, my Houſe is his Fort, and I am his Soldier. I muſt fight for him. You muſt kill me, before you can kill him.——What good Man will ever come again under my Roof, if I let my Floor be ſtained with a good Man's Blood!*——The *Negroes* ſeeing his Reſolution, and being convinced by his Diſcourſe that they were wrong, went away aſhamed. In a few Days *Murray* ventured abroad again with *Cudjoe*, when ſeveral of them took him by the Hand, and told him they were glad they had not killed him; for as he was a good (meaning an innocent) Man, *their God would have been angry, and would have ſpoiled their Fiſhing.*——I relate this, ſays Captain *Seagrave*, to ſhow, that ſome among theſe dark People have a ſtrong Senſe of Juſtice and Honour, and that even the moſt brutal among them are capable of feeling the Force of Reaſon, and of being influenced by a Fear of God (if the Knowledge of the true God could be introduced among them) ſince even the Fear of a falſe God, when their Rage ſubſided, was not without its good Effect.

Now

Now I am about to mention ſomething of *Indians*, I beg that I may not be underſtood as framing Apologies for *all Indians*. I am far from deſiring to leſſen the laudable Spirit of Reſentment in my Countrymen againſt thoſe now at War with us, ſo far as it is juſtified by their Perfidy and Inhumanity.—I would only obſerve that the *Six Nations*, as a Body, have kept Faith with the *Engliſh* ever ſince we knew them, now near an Hundred Years; and that the governing Part of thoſe People have had Notions of Honour, whatever may be the Caſe with the Rum-debauched, Trader-corrupted Vagabonds and Thieves on *Saſquehannah* and the *Ohio*, at preſent in Arms againſt us.——As a Proof of that Honour, I ſhall only mention one well-known recent Fact. When ſix *Catawba* Deputies, under the Care of Colonel *Bull*, of *Charleſtown*, went by Permiſſion into the *Mohawks* Country, to ſue for and treat of Peace for their Nation, they ſoon found the *Six Nations* highly exaſperated, and the Peace at that Time impracticable: They were therefore in Fear for their own Perſons, and apprehended that they ſhould be killed in their Way back to *New-York*; which being made known to the *Mohawk* Chiefs, by Colonel *Bull*, one of them, by Order of the Council, made this Speech to the *Catawbas*:——

" *Strangers and Enemies*,

" While you are in this Country, blow away
" all Fear out of your Breaſts; change the black
" Streak of Paint on your Cheek for a red One,
" and let your Faces ſhine with Bear's-Greaſe:

"You are safer here than if you were at home.
" The *Six Nations* will not defile their own Land
" with the Blood of Men that come unarmed to
" ask for Peace. We shall send a Guard with
" you, to see you safe out of our Territories. So
" far you shall have Peace, but no farther. Get
" home to your own Country, and there take
" Care of yourselves, for there we intend to
" come and kill you."

The *Catawbas* came away unhurt accordingly.

It is also well known, that just before the late War broke out, when our Traders first went among the *Piankeshaw Indians*, a Tribe of the *Twightwees*, they found the Principle of *giving Protection to Strangers* in full Force; for the *French* coming with their *Indians* to the *Piankeshaw* Town, and demanding that those Traders and their Goods should be delivered up;—the *Piankeshaws* replied, the *English* were come there upon their Invitation, and they could not do so base a Thing. But the *French* insisting on it, the *Piankeshaws* took Arms in Defence of their Guests, and a Number of them, with their old Chief, lost their Lives in the Cause; the *French* at last prevailing by superior Force only.

I will not dissemble that numberless Stories have been raised and spread abroad, against not only the poor Wretches that are murdered, but also against the Hundred and Forty christianized *Indians*, still threatned to be murdered; all which Stories are well known, by those who know the *Indians* best, to be pure Inventions, contrived by bad People, either to excite each other to join in

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the Murder, or ſince it was committed, to juſtify it; and believed only by the Weak and Credulous. I call thus publickly on the Makers and Venders of theſe Accuſations to produce their Evidence. Let them ſatisfy the Public that even *Will Soc*, the moſt obnoxious of all that Tribe, was really guilty of thoſe Offences againſt us which they lay to his Charge. But if he was, ought he not to have been fairly tried? He lived under our Laws, and was ſubject to them; he was in our Hands, and might eaſily have been proſecuted; was it *Engliſh Juſtice* to condemn and execute him unheard? Conſcious of his own Innocence, he did not endeavour to hide himſelf when the Door of the Work-houſe, his Sanctuary, was breaking open; *I will meet them*, ſays he, *for they are my Brothers*. Theſe Brothers of his ſhot him down at the Door, while the Word Brothers was ſtill between his Teeth!——But if *Will Soc* was a bad Man, what had poor old *Shehaes* done? what could he or the other poor old Men and Women do? What had little Boys and Girls done; what could Children of a Year old, Babes at the Breaſt, what could they do, that they too muſt be ſhot and hatcheted?—Horrid to relate!—and in their Parents Arms! This is done by no civilized Nation in *Europe*. Do we come to *America* to learn and practiſe the Manners of *Barbarians?* But this, *Barbarians* as they are, they practiſe againſt their Enemies only, not againſt their Friends.—

Theſe poor People have been always our Friends. Their Fathers received ours, when

Stran-

Strangers here, with Kindneſs and Hoſpitality. Behold the Return we have made them!—— When we grew more numerous and powerful, they put themſelves under our *Protection*. See, in the mangled Corpſes of the laſt Remains of the Tribe, how effectually we have afforded it to them!—

Unhappy People! to have lived in ſuch Times, and by ſuch Neighbours!——We have ſeen, that they would have been ſafer among the ancient *Heathens*, with whom the Rites of Hoſpitality were *ſacred*.——They would have been conſidered as *Gueſts* of the Publick, and the Religion of the Country would have operated in their Favour. But our Frontier People call themſelves *Chriſtians!*——They would have been ſafer, if they had ſubmitted to the *Turks*; for ever ſince *Mahomet*'s Reproof to *Khaled*, even the *cruel Turks*, never kill Priſoners in cold Blood. Theſe were not even Priſoners:—But what is the Example of *Turks* to Scripture *Chriſtians*?——They would have been ſafer, though they had been taken in actual War againſt the *Saracens*, if they had once drank Water with them. Theſe were not taken in War againſt us, and have drank with us, and we with them, for Fourſcore Years.—— But ſhall we compare *Saracens* to *Chriſtians*?—— They would have been ſafer among the *Moors* in *Spain*, though they had been *Murderers of Sons*; if Faith had once been pledged to them, and a Promiſe of Protection given. But theſe have had the Faith of the *Engliſh* given to them many Times by the Government, and, in Reliance on

that

that Faith, they lived among us, and gave us the Opportunity of murdering them.——However, what was honourable in *Moors*, may not be a Rule to us; for we are *Chriſtians*!——They would have been ſafer it ſeems among *Popiſh Spaniards*, even if Enemies, and delivered into their Hands by a Tempeſt. Theſe were not Enemies; they were born among us, and yet we have killed them all.——But ſhall we imitate *idolatrous Papiſts*, we that are *enlightened Proteſtants*?——They would even have been ſafer among the *Negroes* of *Africa*, where at leaſt one manly Soul would have been found, with Senſe, Spirit and Humanity enough, to ſtand in their Defence:——But ſhall *Whitemen* and *Chriſtians* act like a *Pagan Negroe*?——In ſhort it appears, that they would have been ſafe in any Part of the known World,—except in the Neighbourhood of the CHRISTIAN WHITE SAVAGES of *Peckſtang* and *Donegall!*—

O ye unhappy Perpetrators of this horrid Wickedneſs! Reflect a Moment on the Miſchief ye have done, the Diſgrace ye have brought on your Country, on your Religion, and your Bible, on your Families and Children! Think on the Deſtruction of your captivated Country-folks (now among the wild *Indians*) which probably may follow, in Reſentment of your Barbarity! Think on the Wrath of the United *Five Nations*, hitherto our Friends, but now provoked by your murdering one of their Tribes, in Danger of becoming our bitter Enemies.——Think of the mild and good Government you have ſo audaciouſly inſulted; the Laws of your King, your

Country,

Country, and your GOD, that you have broken; the infamous Death that hangs over your Heads: ——For JUSTICE, though ſlow, will come at laſt.—— All good People every where deteſt your Actions.——You have imbrued your Hands in innocent Blood; how will you make them clean?——The dying Shrieks and Groans of the Murdered, will often ſound in your Ears: Their Spectres will ſometimes attend you, and affright even your innocent Children!——Fly where you will, your Conſciences will go with you:—Talking in your Sleep ſhall betray you, in the Delirium of a Fever you yourſelves ſhall make your own Wickedneſs known.

One Hundred and Forty peaceable *Indians* yet remain in this Government. They have, by Chriſtian Miſſionaries, been brought over to a *Liking*, at leaſt, of our Religion; ſome of them lately left their Nation which is now at War with us, becauſe they did not chuſe to join with them in their Depredations; and to ſhew their Confidence in us, and to give us an equal Confidence in them, they have brought and put into our Hands their Wives and Children. Others have lived long among us in *Northampton* County, and moſt of their Children have been born there. Theſe are all now trembling for their Lives. They have been hurried from Place to Place for Safety, now concealed in Corners, then ſent out of the Province, refuſed a Paſſage through a neighbouring Colony, and returned, not unkindly perhaps, but diſgracefully, on our Hands. O *Pennſylvania!* once renowned for Kindneſs to

Strangers,

Strangers, ſhall the Clamours of a few mean Niggards about the Expence of this *Publick Hoſpitality*, an Expence that will not coſt the noiſy Wretches *Sixpence* a Piece (and what is the Expence of the poor Maintenance we afford them, compared to the Expence they might occaſion if in Arms againſt us) ſhall ſo ſenſeleſs a Clamour, I ſay, force you to turn out of your Doors theſe unhappy Gueſts, who have offended their own Country-folks by their Affection for you, who, confiding in your Goodneſs, have put themſelves under your Protection? Thoſe whom you have diſarmed to ſatisfy groundleſs Suſpicions, will you leave them expoſed to the armed Madmen of your Country?—Unmanly Men! who are not aſhamed to come with Weapons againſt the Unarmed, to uſe the Sword againſt Women, and the Bayonet againſt young Children; and who have already given ſuch bloody Proofs of their Inhumanity and Cruelty.——Let us rouze ourſelves, for Shame, and redeem the Honour of our Province from the Contempt of its Neighbours; let all good Men join heartily and unanimouſly in Support of the Laws, and in ſtrengthening the Hands of Government; that JUSTICE may be done, the Wicked puniſhed, and the Innocent protected; otherwiſe we can, as a People, expect no Bleſſing from Heaven, there will be no Security for our Perſons or Properties; Anarchy and Confuſion will prevail over all, and Violence, without Judgment, diſpoſe of every Thing.

When

When I mention the Baſeneſs of the Murderers, in the Uſe they made of Arms, I cannot, I ought not to forget, the very different Behaviour of *brave Men* and *true Soldiers*, of which this melancholy Occaſion has afforded us freſh Inſtances. The *Royal Highlanders* have, in the Courſe of this War, ſuffered as much as any other Corps, and have frequently had their Ranks thinn'd by an *Indian* Enemy; yet they did not for this retain a brutal undiſtinguiſhing Reſentment againſt *all Indians*, Friends as well as Foes. But a Company of them happening to be here, when the 140 poor *Indians* above mentioned were thought in too much Danger to ſtay longer in the Province, chearfully undertook to protect and eſcort them to *New-York*, which they executed (as far as that Government would permit the *Indians* to come) with Fidelity and Honour; and their Captain *Robinſon*, is juſtly applauded and honoured by all ſenſible and good People, for the Care, Tenderneſs and Humanity, with which he treated thoſe unhappy Fugitives, during their March in this ſevere Seaſon. General *Gage*, too, has approved of his Officer's Conduct, and, as I hear, ordered him to remain with the *Indians* at *Amboy*, and continue his Protection to them, till another Body of the King's Forces could be ſent to relieve his Company, and eſcort their Charge back in Safety to *Philadelphia*, where his Excellency has had the Goodneſs to direct thoſe Forces to remain for ſome Time, under the Orders of our Governor, for the Security of the *Indians*; the Troops of this Province being at preſent neceſſarily poſted

on

on the Frontier. Such juſt and generous Actions endear the Military to the Civil Power, and impreſs the Minds of all the Diſcerning with a ſtill greater Reſpect for our national Government.—I ſhall conclude with obſerving, that *Cowards* can handle Arms, can ſtrike where they are ſure to meet with no Return, can wound, mangle and murder; but it belongs to *brave* Men to ſpare, and to protect; for, as the Poet ſays,

——*Mercy ſtill ſways the Brave.*

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